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ABSTRACT

In discussing communication planning and integrated rural development, Philip H. Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed, and Pratima Kale of the International Council for Educational Development stress that communication planning must deal with problems in behavioral and not just technical terms. Communication planners must be able to work with experts from other fields, and be willing to learn about the local community and adapt communications technology to its people. Erskine Childers describes the United Nations Development Support Communication Service; Jim Herm describes his experiences as a communication planning officer in Thailand and Turkey; and Sam Keeney discusses how to help people receive the services governments promise but have difficulty delivering. (Author/STS)

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COMMUNICATION AND INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

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COMMUNICATION AND INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Philip H. Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed and Pratima Kale begin this issue of *ICIT Report* with a thoughtful discussion of communication planning and integrated rural development (IRD) in which they stress that communication planning must deal with problems in behavioral and not just technical terms. Erskine Childers then describes how the United Nations Development Support Communication Service (DSCS) tries to play this role while Jim Herm tells of his experiences as a communication planning officer in Thailand and Turkey. Finally, Sam Keeney reminds us of the most important objective for any approach to rural development: delivering as soon as possible the services that people want.

Is IRD a Cheshire Cat?

Philip H. Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed and Pratima Kale of the International Council for Educational Development are currently researching innovative ways in which education — particularly nonformal education — can encourage stronger community involvement and closer integration between rural development programs. Mr. Coombs and Mr. Ahmed are well known for their studies on nonformal education and rural development. Ms. Kale joined ICED after extensive experience with the Ford Foundation in India. In the following article, Nancy L. Radtke asked them to share their views on integrated rural development and communication.

• *Do you feel that the concept of integrated rural development is viable or has this become the new rhetoric of development?*

Coombs: Like any fashionable new term, integrated rural development runs the risk of becoming little more than another piece of ambiguous rhetoric that creates more confusion than clarity. Yet beneath this label are some solid and strategically important ideas whose much broader application in coming years will be essential to achieving genuine rural development — meaning, the thorough-going reconstruction and transformation of backward rural societies, economically, socially, and politically.

There is nothing mysterious or esoteric about an integrated approach to rural development. Simply stated, it is the opposite of the piecemeal approach pursued throughout most of the developing world over the past 20 years. Under this haphazard approach, each specialized agency (international as well as national) and each professional group has pursued its own narrow objective and its own independent course of action with little if any attention to whether it harmonized with complimentary objectives and programs or with the broader processes of rural development in that particular situation.

Thus, for example, agricultural specialists were prone to equate rural development with increased agricultural output — regardless of who produced it, who paid for it, or who benefitted from it. Even within the agricultural sector there has frequently been serious fragmentation of effort between different agricultural extension services, credit and input services, marketing services, and farmer training programs. There has been a similar fragmentation among various programs aimed at improving the quality of rural family life with respect, for example, to health and sanitation, nutrition, child and maternal care, household improvement, and, most recently, family planning.

Education and communication specialists have contributed their substantial share to this stultifying fragmentation — which has often bewildered villagers who are not accustomed to having their lives carved into specialized fragments paralleling the sub-divisions of a university. Education has been treated as a separate "sector," comparable to agriculture, industry, transport, or health, rather than as a series of nourishing inputs for *all* sectors. This has frequently divorced education — both formal and nonformal — from the critical learning needs and the mainstream of rural development. It also

(Continued on page 2)

DSC: A Common Thread for Development Planning

Erskine Childers, one of the co-founders of the Development Support Communication Service, spoke with Nancy L. Radtke about new approaches to communication planning. Mr. Childers is currently the Director of Information for the United Nations Development Program in New York.

• *What is Development Support Communication?* Development support communication is a discipline in development planning and implementation in which more adequate account is taken of human behavioral factors in the design of development projects and their objectives. Then, on the basis of a behavioral analysis and the development of a feasible design, the requirements for technical human communication are built into that project as part of its own plan of operation and as a part of its budget.

• *What is communication planning?* Communication planning is the use of the human social sciences to anticipate the behavioral objectives of a development program within the broad objectives of the project. Usually these are found somewhere in between the lines of traditionally designed development projects but are practically never seen in the written description of a project. Yet, without a single exception, every development project presupposes theories of behavioral change, if we define behavioral change as a change in attitudes, perception, and in the adoption of various specific innovations.

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IRD (Continued)

helps to explain the "irrelevance" of so many educational offerings.

The only alternative to this fragmented, one-eyed approach is a more integrated approach that views the complex realities of rural development in wider perspective, that pays greater attention to the *relationships and interdependencies* of various specialized parts of the whole, and that seeks to link these various elements together more effectively, whether in designing a particular program or project or in fashioning broader policies and strategies. There is no single formula or

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model for achieving integrated rural development. It is basically a matter of employing a broader conceptual and analytical framework in diagnosing any rural situation, then exercising a high degree of ingenuity and unconventional thinking in devising more integrated and viable solutions that fit the needs and circumstances of that particular situation. This calls for creative and analytically-minded generalists who think in broad systems terms, rather than narrow visioned specialists who arrive on the scene with prefabricated models narrowly focused on their own specialty.

Integration, it should be added, is not an either/or proposition; it is a matter of degree and of kind. It cannot happen full scale overnight; it must at best be a step-by-step process, and as conditions change, so must the forms and methods of integration change.

Ahmed: As Coombs implied in his statement, the concept of integrated rural development has different connotations in different contexts. What is called integrated rural development, and how much is attempted in its name, depends very much on the degree of decentralized decision-making and popular participation in such decision-making at different levels that is permitted by the political structure, and the public administration style and tradition of a country.

The sensible approach would be to view integrated rural development as a process of moving towards local self-government within a framework of national objectives and principles.

The idea of integrated rural development, therefore, is viable only to the extent there is determination to make it viable and there is acceptance of its political and administrative implications. Although a great deal of rhetoric has been generated by the idea, this is not necessarily harmful if the rhetoric reflects the vision of an ideal to be pursued and does not become a substitute for action and commitment.

Kale: One of the dangers in this field is that sectoral programs may only change their labels to adapt to the rhetoric of integrated rural development. Such programs may only add new token coordination committees and multipurpose schemes which cannot really make a dent on rural peoples' welfare. An integrated program, on the other hand, is expected to make people and their welfare its central focus, and to view programs from the peoples' perspectives. It is from these perspectives, based on an understanding of the peoples' needs, problems, and development potential, that the interrelationships among programs become more meaningful.

The concept of integrated rural development can be viable if planners and administrators attempt to move away from sectoral schemes and centralized authority; encourage the training of local people in planning, decision-making, and implementation of programs for their community's development; and are supportive rather than authoritative to local organizations by providing funds, supplies, services, and appropriate technology when needed. Without these major changes in orientation, the viability of the concept will be questionable.

- *Why are there so few integrated projects? What are the major stumbling blocks in developing and, more importantly, in implementing these projects?*

Coombs: Actually there have been many more efforts toward better integration in recent years than is generally realized. Most of these efforts have taken place quietly and gradually, with little fanfare, often in remote areas without the awareness of central ministries and without a special label. By and large, the closer one gets to the local scene of action, the easier it is for the agents of different national organizations to mesh their efforts, for they are all looking at the same realities and are more likely to see the necessity for a more unified approach. Adult educators, extensionists, and others engaged mainly in nonformal education have frequently played significant roles in these efforts.

There is really nothing basically new about an integrated approach to rural development except its recently increased popularity. Most of the earlier community development movements — for example in India and East Africa, and the *animation rurale* movement in Francophone Africa — were based on this philosophy.

The development scene as a whole, however, is still heavily dominated by specialized, single-purpose, top-down programs which are run by specialized ministries and often supported by specialized external agencies or their specialized subdivisions. Thus an enormous task remains of modifying and linking these programs so that they can function more effectively and achieve greater results with their limited resources.

The greatest obstacles to achieving better integration are bureaucratic, professional, and political in nature. Bureaucracies the world over are reluctant to surrender any piece of their autonomy or to risk "watering down" their efforts to achieve their own particular "targets" by cooperating with other organizations. And central bureaucrats are reluctant to entrust their local subordinates with a larger degree of discretion and initiative. Yet these are precisely what a more integrated approach requires.

Professional specialists have a similar problem. They have been trained to see the world through the narrow lens of their own specialty, and it is often difficult for them to adopt a broader view that places their specialty in a wider perspective in relation to other specialties and to rural development in the large.

What started off as a strong instrument eventually becomes like the smile on the Cheshire cat — all smile and no cat.

Not least of the obstacles are the influential members of local power structures — larger land owners, principal traders, local political leaders — who understandably resist any "integrated" programs calculated to give the less fortunate members of the community a stronger voice and bigger piece of the action.

Apart from these more obvious obstacles, however, is the hard fact that a great deal of effort, time and ingenuity is required to achieve greater integration of effort, even when there is a general willingness to move in this direction. Developing appropriate and effective educational software for a locally integrated family-improvement program, for example, cutting across a variety of sub-

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jects, is considerably more difficult than devising centralized radio "messages" for a single subject, such as family planning or nutrition or sanitation.

These various obstacles, and others that might be named, are by no means insurmountable, though they will be much more difficult in some situations than others (depending especially on the quality, direction and strength of the political leadership at each level).

Ahmed: The obstacles to achieving comprehensive local development are numerous and formidable, to the extent that they concern the political power structure and the maintenance of the *status quo* of privileges.

One, however, pursues the goal of integrated development because even small progress with less than comprehensive jurisdiction may mean relatively greater effectiveness and efficiency in reaching the rural people with at least some of the essential services. This may also mean, provided the vision of integrated development with its corollaries of decentralized government and popular participation in decision-making is kept alive, that the people become better prepared to hasten the process of integrated development and to assume the responsibilities involved.

• *What are the essential components of integrated projects and what role should communication planning play in these projects?*

Coombs: As suggested earlier, virtually every kind of rural development effort requires substantial learning inputs. Development means change, and to bring about change people must acquire new insights, outlooks, attitudes, knowledge, and skills. They can acquire these in a great variety of ways and through many different channels of communication, both modern and traditional. This is why education — broadly defined — is so fundamental to rural development.

But education alone can rarely do the job; complimentary components of a non-educational kind are often required also. A farmer may have learned how to use new varieties and modern inputs and be anxious to apply them, but if he cannot get hold of them his new education merely frustrates him. Similarly, there is little point in convincing a mother to feed eggs to her children if there are no eggs available, or in convincing a couple to practice family planning if the means for doing so are beyond their reach.

Apart from these various essential program components – that must be available in the right form, amount and relationship — there are certain basic conditions that must be present if the program is to have a chance of success. One of these is that the intended clients must really want the program because they see its relevance to their own priority needs, and they must be willing to do their own necessary part to extract the benefits it offers. Another important requirement is that there must be some sort of local institution to work through, be it a cooperative, mothers club, youth society, or whatever. Development activities do not take place in an organizational vacuum. To be successful they must succeed in mobilizing and channeling the efforts of local people and the support of local resources. The absence of some sort of local organization, however informal, is one of the greatest obstacles to helping the landless and other rural poor. Such organizations as exist — such as cooperatives — are generally dominated by the better-off members of the community, leaving the poorest members out in the cold. And to create new organizations — for women, for the landless, for out-of-school youth, for the smallest farmers — is generally not an easy matter and at best requires considerable time and patience. Once formed and enjoying the confidence of their members, such local organizations can become major vehicles of education along with other functions.

A great deal of effort, time and ingenuity is required to achieve greater integration of effort, even when there is a general willingness to move in this direction. Developing appropriate and effective educational software for a locally integrated family improvement program, for example, cutting across a variety of subjects, is considerably more difficult than devising centralized radio "messages" for a single subject such as family planning or nutrition or sanitation.

Ahmed: There cannot be a prescription for a chemical formula for integrated development, since the nature and scope of the effort have to be situation-specific and have to evolve dynamically over a period of time. There is, however, always an important role for education including communication if it is broadly defined. But we should not expect the tail to wag the dog. If there is a valid development program with sound objectives, the necessary educational efforts grow out of the rationale and the essential ingredients of the program. The educational efforts are indeed needed to establish the validity of a program, to clarify its objectives and to make the people a partner in the program. Look at what use a Mao or a Mwalimu (Teacher) Nyerere make of the educational and communication tools. But we begin with Mao's thoughts or the Mwalimu's vision without which the educational paraphernalia would be of little value. We need the setting of a valid development program; an appropriate organization to carry out the program; and, if fortunate, a charismatic leader in which the educational efforts can bear fruit and not *vice versa*.

Kale: An integrated project attempts to initiate the developmental process in a community in its social, and cultural, as well as economic and political, life. For example, in attacking the health problems in a given village, an integrated project deals not only with the most urgent questions of curative medicine, but also develops a system of preventative medicine, and attacks questions of food and nutrition, sanitation and hygiene, food production and water resources, child care and family planning, and literacy, as well as development and effective use of available resources. An analysis of the original health problem leads to its roots in various ecological, social, cultural, economic, and political conditions, and therefore requires a multi-dimensional attack to truly solve the original health problem. Although it is realized that all of these problems cannot possibly be attacked and solved by any one integrated project in its first few years, it is this vision of the overall development process which is the most important element of an integrated project.

Communication planners have a challenging supportive role in an integrated project of rural development. Their effectiveness however, depends upon their ability to work with experts from other fields, and their willingness to learn about the community, and to adapt their communications technology to the community and its people.

In order to function in an integrated manner, such a project requires a series of linkages with various governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as with research institutions dealing with related issues of development. Attempts have to be made through such vertical and horizontal linkages to bring in the necessary supplies and services that the community cannot provide for itself. It also requires educational and communication efforts to help local people see the relevance of the schemes to their own needs, to obtain local support, to encourage peoples' participation, and to initiate and help develop local organizations.

• *Should separate communication agencies such as DSCS or national communication institutes be developed to provide planning and technical support for integrated projects? Can these institutes in themselves act as integrators?*

Coombs: Specialized communications units and institutes certainly can contribute to integrated rural development provided their members take a very broad view of "communications", do not see themselves simply as communications experts, pay more attention to the clients and the software than to the mechanics of delivering "messages", and work hard at

developing a realistic "feel" for the other aspects of rural development and of how communication elements fit in with them.

Too often in recent years, professional communicators have taken much too narrow a view — equating communications with the electronic mass media. They have treated communication components separately from other program elements and have had too little regard for the characteristics of the clients being served and their social economic circumstances.

The communication strategy, content, and method should stem from the inherent logic of the development program rather than these being imposed on the program by a communication center.

Too often also their studies have been dominated by an academic desire to apply sophisticated, quantitative methodologies and not enough by a desire to provide useful and practical guidance for policymakers, program planners, and managers. The artificial distinction (largely an invention of the "communicators") between Information, Education, and Communication in the family planning field has been particularly unfortunate; it has prompted an unwholesome fragmentation rather than integration of both research efforts and practical operations.

But this is changing. Some of the leaders in the communications field have recognized and become vocal about these shortcomings. It is to be hoped that important changes will result in coming years.

Ahmed: I am less positive than Coombs about specialized communication centers. A communication center, which is by its very nature concerned with the communication process and tools, is hardly the vehicle for integrating development activities. The communication strategy, content, and method should stem from the inherent logic of the development program rather than these being imposed on the program by a communication center. The latter is likely to happen when the development program is vaguely defined and poorly managed, as is too often the case, and the communication center tries to fulfill its responsibility and justify its existence by managing the communication strategy for the program.

I suppose there is a role for special centers in respect to making general educational and reading materials available for neoliterates and primary school-leavers, building a national mass media system to promote national integration, or training technical personnel in the communication field. Such centers could be national or multi-national within a region.

Kale: In a truly integrated project, communication planners cannot work only in their narrow fields of family planning communications or agricultural communications. As "development support communicators," they work with teams of researchers from various fields to find out effective ways of solving community problems and to train local workers who can understand and use problem solving techniques, communicate with local people, and mobilize local resources in a development process. For the communications planner, this requires an overall view of the community and its social and economic development.

In this context, development communication is not limited to mass media or sophisticated communications technology. Various means of communication, with an emphasis on interpersonal communication and simple, low-cost technology, have to be devised to attack specific problems of local communities. They can be effective only when they suit the community setting, and when local people see their relevance. Communication planners have a challenging supportive role in an integrated project of rural development. Their effectiveness, however, depends upon their ability to work with experts from other fields, and their willingness to learn about the community, and to adapt their communications technology to the community and its people.

- *Finally, how effective is it to establish national coordinating groups for integrated rural development?*

Coombs: Experience has shown that there is no magic in national coordinating bodies. In favorable circumstances (where the top political leadership is really serious about achieving better integration) such organizational devices can help to foster better communication and understanding among different agencies and create a climate of attitudes favorable to stronger integration efforts at lower echelons where it really counts. But coordinating bodies can also become a substitute for real action; on occasion they simply become a forum for sharpening up the mutual non-aggression pact among competing agencies so that the territory of each is better delineated and protected. When this happens, integration suffers another set-back. Or again, a new top level coordinating body may get off to a strong and promising start, but then soon run out of steam when the agency heads start sending their deputies and later the deputies send their deputies. What started off as a strong instrument eventually becomes like the smile on the Cheshire cat — all smile and no cat.

The main point is that formal coordinating bodies of this sort can be useful as *one* element of a larger effort but are never a panacea and soon become comparatively useless unless they take some real actions and manage to permeate all the agencies involved, at every level, with a fresh and genuine sense of cooperation.

Ahmed: Some form of national and regional coordination is needed if a country seriously pursues the goals of integrated rural development. Coordinating bodies, however, can be only as effective as the degree of political commitment to and acceptance of integrated development and the consequent political and administrative ramifications. Coordinating bodies may also, like rhetorical pronouncements, become the subterfuge for inaction. Local government bodies should be the ultimate vehicle for integration with regional and national coordinating bodies, as well as specialized agencies, supporting and facilitating the local government efforts. An important measure of the effectiveness of coordinating bodies in this context would be the extent to which they help to create and strengthen local organizations and how successfully they transfer authority to these bodies.

Experience has shown that there is no magic in national coordinating bodies. . . .

Kale: The concepts of coordination and integration seem to have been officially accepted in a number of countries where national councils, boards and committees have been formulated for tackling development matters. Such structures have a legitimizing role as they bring together the top level officials such as ministers, secretaries and directors. They all bring power, authority, prestige, and also their experience to the national bodies. As such they have a potential for effective coordination in planning and decision-making at the highest levels.

Experience, however, has not been very encouraging. Quite often such bodies do not become operational, and when they do, their functioning involves complexities of relationships, power and cooperation. Such bodies can be useful if they play a supportive role in giving sanctions to the coordinating efforts at the village, block and district levels, and not just make final decisions and plans to give administrative orders to officials at the lower levels. ■

Publications of particular interest to those concerned with rural development are: Philip H. Coombs with Roy C. Prosser and Manzoor Ahmed, *New Paths to Learning: For Rural Children and Youth*, ICED/Essex, 1973, 133 pp. ($2.00 paperback); P.H. Coombs with M. Ahmed, *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, 292 pp. ($3.95 paperback, $15.00 hardcover); M. Ahmed and P.H. Coombs, *Education for Rural Development: Case Studies for Planners*, Praeger Publishers and ICED, 1975, 661 pp. ($9.00 paperback available only from ICED/Essex. $25.00 hardcover); M. Ahmed, *Economics of Nonformal Education: Resources, Costs, and Benefits*, Praeger Publishers, 1975, 122 pp. Orders for ICED/Essex publications should be prepaid. For further information, contact ICED, P.O. Box 217, Essex, Connecticut 06246, USA.

DSC (Continued)

The first stage of communication planning is to identify what the behavioral objectives are as far as the project is concerned. Ideally, the next stage is to test the behavioral feasibility of those objectives and to tailor the design of the project to match the results of such a human feasibility study. Once this has been done, you can plan for all of the streams of human communication that will be required in order to move the original set of objectives toward their implementation. These streams will vary in every single project, but we've always looked for three broad types of communication — management information communication, training, and community level development support communication.

Management information communication is the process whereby the objectives, plan, methodology, coordinated linkages, and all of the other facts and factors of the development project will be properly communicated to all of the people, both in and beyond government, who are going to be involved in making the project work. We stress this because we have found, from years and years of observation, that there is an automatic assumption that a project design will by itself convey all that everyone needs to know. This just isn't the case.

Another point in the use of management information is that one needs to anticipate and to plan technically for feedback from the project as it is underway. This is an attempt to use the appropriate technical means of human communication (which can be anything from the written word, to slide sound sets, video tape, or even film for large scale projects) to insure that all those responsible for overseeing the project are aware of how it's proceeding, what problems are unfolding, and what possible adjustments may be needed.

The second type of communication that almost invariably needs communication support planning is the actual technical training of project staff, both in the nature of the project itself and in the particular skills that they are going to have to adopt or diffuse to others.

People do not usually regard training as a communication problem, nor do they regard it as a process which requires technical communication support. On a number of occasions, we've found that sophisticated development projects used only the most rudimentary training methods such as chalk, blackboard, and stencil materials. Thus, the effort here is to apply the principles of program planning or instruction to every possible stage of training. In its widest dimension, this would include all types of training including that of key project administrators, extension workers and the actual transmission of skills to the ultimate project implementators and users — the farmers.

The third type of communication that we've used as a guideline is community level development support communication. This can be everything from the basic mobilization of the interests of the community (by explaining the project to them and enlisting their support and participation) to the diffusion of certain innovations that may not be technical training as such but that may involve attitude changes as in, say, contraception.

- *Does communication planning require a communication specialist?* What exactly will be required, with whom, by which medium and in what sequence varies with each project and is why one needs very special skills if one is doing communication planning. There is no one pattern for such planning because the pattern is derived from the objectives of a development effort and its plan of operation. There isn't even a standard pattern for something like an irrigated agriculture project. Of course, DSCS has experience in those types of projects, but we don't believe in calling out some blueprint and filling in the details. One has to plan as a complete exercise every time.

- *What type of training should a communication specialist receive?* This is a discipline which by definition is a mixture of development planning, the human behavioral sciences and technical human communication. A communication specialist first of all needs training in the sociology of development in its widest sense. Secondly, in order to understand how development works within government or quasi-government institutions, he or she needs training in the administrative process of development. This understanding is not something that comes automatically. Unless someone has already worked in government, he or she probably won't have the necessary perception and, in fact, may tend to have a purely negative attitude towards government bureaucracy. Obviously, a communication specialist also needs training in the application of the human social sciences to the development process.

Finally, he or she should receive training in techniques of the available media and in the different roles of technical human communication, by which I mean group and interpersonal communication as well as all the different stages of mass communication technology. This training need not necessarily be in the design, production and delivery of all those media but should be training in their different purposes and in their advantages and disadvantages. Of course, if your communication specialist is one who is working in design and production, the training becomes even more specific. While it is wonderful to find the all-around person who can do planning, design and production, that obviously is a rarity.

As far as I know, there is no academic or technical training institution that fully provides all of the essentials in an integrated program. You do not get this training by getting a degree in mass communication, a degree in development economics, or a degree in journalism. You don't even get it, though you do get closer to it, by getting something like an agricultural extension certificate.

One of the big roles of the Development Support Communication Service has been to devise, virtually from scratch, training courses and their curricula material. Also, a major element of our work has been to interest governments and existing institutions, such as the East-West Communication Institute, in adapting some of their communication teaching or in adding courses along these lines.

We would like to see every country or certainly every group of countries include such courses in their development training because these courses need to be very closely tailored to the kinds of development conditions and objectives that the DSC workers are going to find in their own country. The nearer the training is to the actual context of organized development, the more successful it will be. Some of the best training work that we've been able to do occurred when the training was associated with an ongoing development support communication activity such as the program in Thailand.

- *What type of communication training should all development workers receive?* The type of training will depend upon the role to be played by the development professional. A communication specialist is there in the same way that specialists from other sectors are there. The Department of Agriculture has got to have soil scientists and people who can help plan according to the nature and condition of the soil and climate, but one doesn't presuppose from that that the people in charge of the process of agricultural development should know nothing about soil science. In the same way, it is absolutely essential that the development professional at the planning or administrative level receive training in the behavioral sciences and in the role of human communication in the development process. What we're really talking about here is sensitization, so that development workers will understand and be receptive to planning for a communication component in the project.

Obviously, as you get nearer to the actual operation of the project, there will be other people who will need management information training. People who are part of the administrative pipeline to and from a project need training so that key information won't be transmitted in a routine civil service way. At the community level, the extension worker or *animateur* has to have very special training as a human communicator. He or she especially needs to understand interpersonal communica-

tion techniques and the mass media can best be used in their community.

• *What role should the mass media play in development projects?* A very important thing in development support communication, and an idea that we've often had a lot of trouble in getting across to people is that, in most instances, the mass media are not the primary tools for transmitting development information. The media work in development support communication only if they are brought in to close the connection with ground level work. You do not get farmers through the process of awareness creation, interest testing, and sustained adoption of an agricultural innovation solely by radio or television. You get it by ground level change agents. These agents undoubtedly can be backed by radio or television and, once the job has been done, they can use media for reinforcement communication; but you don't get the diffusion and/or adoption of development information purely by the use of mass media. The role of the change agent is of critical importance in all kinds of development, but particularly in community level work.

It is vitally important for mass media specialists to understand this. It is not that they should take a back seat in development work, but that they should realize that when you're talking about the purpose of human communication of this kind, you have got to work with other people. One cannot broadcast blind and achieve a purposive result. Educational broadcasters understand this much more clearly because the teacher in a receiving classroom is the equivalent of the change agent. Most other media training is essentially Western-oriented and designed for non-purposive broadcasting, so that something nearing a change in the *ethos* of mass communication training is needed for development communication.

• *Will national development support communication systems duplicate the efforts of existing programs, such as those of the Ministry of Information?* No, because development support communication has got to be a system that plugs into and works with both centralized and decentralized development planning authorities and with existing information media such as the Ministry of Information and broadcasting and film units. Development support communication should also plug into each of the sectoral ministries and try to help reconcile the often conflicting or overloading messages which the different ministries send to the audience.

We've never come across a case of duplication or even threatened duplication simply because this mixture doesn't exist and you can't separate it out. If you separate it out, you'll destroy it. You cannot have something called the Ministry of Development Support Communication unless someone wants to promote such a ministry solely for the technical design and delivery of media materials once the feasibility and planning process has been carried out by others. We prefer to seek systems which create small resource units within existing ministries. Their role would be to sensitize the ministry to development support communication and to act as technical advisers as necessary.

• *What role can communication planning play in integrated rural development?* This, to me, is of immense importance. Integrated rural development requires that the rural community be involved in the planning process. To do that, the community must be sensitized and mobilized. It needs to be helped to perceive how it now manages its own environment and resources and what it regards as the feasibility of change. To achieve this, one can very effectively use human communication techniques.

The central or regional development planners must also be sensitized to the community and the rural area for which the program is being designed. These planners are not automatically so sensitized. They are living in cities and many of them will not have any rural background. For every five people that may be involved in the planning of a large scale rural development program, one person may spend time in the rural area for which those plans are being made. Development support communication can play a role in bridging that geographical and physical gap. Every required communication technique, audio-visual and otherwise, can be used in the pre-planning stages of a project to give planners an alive picture of views of the local people and of the area's problems.

Another role for development support communication is in testing the validity of the behavioral objectives of the project. This is very important because one of the most sensitive and difficult planning tasks is determining in what order and with what shared information and behavioral change load, a program proposes to operate. A rural development program, by definition, means that a given group of people, the *same* group of people are going to be asked to contemplate; test; consider; accept the risk of; and adopt, not just one change such as irrigation in agriculture or the use of fertilizer, but a whole series of changes. Because of this, the role of development support communication in rural development projects is probably greater than in any other type of development project. This requires a great deal of testing and thinking through.

Finally, a development support communication program based on all of the categories of need that I mentioned in communications planning, such as management information, two-way communication, and the training of project people down to the community level should be developed for and integrated into the resultant project to insure that messages don't conflict and that they're not going to overload. ■

DSCS in Action

Randall A. Casey asked Jim Herm for some of his impressions about his work with DSCS. Mr. Herm spent several years with the DSCS office in Bangkok and has recently returned from a two year assignment as a communication planning officer for DSCS in Ankara, Turkey.

• *What is the Development Support Communication Service?* The basic thing DSCS has to offer is that it can bring together communication resources and the people who need them. Where possible or where needed, DSCS can do some training.

DSCS started out primarily as a multidisciplinary, audio-visual service with an emphasis on production. This unfortunately established a type of reputation which is still somewhat with them. They are now moving away from production and toward helping people plan for the communication needs of projects. In my opinion, this is very good and it could have happened faster. Training has been and still is an important part of DSCS. DSCS not only shows people how to use audio-visuals, but also teaches them how to train others.

• *Let me take a quote from an article by Paul Boyd, who is the Chief Communication Support Officer in New York. He asks: "How many development projects are based on careful study of what could be called their human feasibility and not just their economical and technical feasibility?" From your work with DSCS what is meant by human feasibility?* I haven't been using this term so I will have to make my own interpretation which would be: "Is the project really useful and necessary for people in sociological terms?"

I try to stay away from these kinds of terms. I don't even like the term communication because I find that I'm always having to define what it is in my terms and that usually means a half hour conversation.

Anyway, the question here is, are the human elements or the sociological ramifications of an economic investment considered? The answer is usually not.

• *Why does there seem to be so little interest in this very crucial element of project design?* I think because it is new. Even when the idea is a bit more mature, it will still cause problems because it won't be as "precise" as economic terminology. Sociological problems are much harder to predict. I think this is the biggest problem. We are in our infancy in terms of defining what problems will be caused by a particular investment and what we can do about them. And, even if planners think

about these problems, which I think most do; they are likely to say: "Oh, my God, that is going to be too much trouble. I don't have the foggiest idea of how to begin to approach this problem." So they just forget it. I'm not saying that good sociological research methodologies don't exist. There are certainly a lot of them available, but the economic planners rarely use them.

• *Ideally, Development Support Communication Service wants to get involved in the first phases of conceptualizing projects. How often does this really happen? How often did it happen in your work?* About 40% of the time.

• *Do you consider that to be a good average?* For the state of the art now, yes. I would say it was quite good, and I would say that the main stumbling block is that DSCS has to communicate about itself. DSCS is faced with the problem of trying to help others by marketing a sociological concept or a new economic concept. At the same time there is the problem of promoting DSCS service to people who don't understand what DSCS wants to do.

• *At what point in project development do people request your services? Do you call them or do they call you?* Some of both, of course. Most of the time we are asked to come. We never force the issue; all UN agencies respond to the requests of host governments. The only time we can take the initiative is when we know something is happening and we ask whether we can sit in on the discussion because we could possibly be of some help. If the answer is no, we drop the issue.

Most of the projects we were asked to do were done after the project was in operation. It is not so much that they didn't want us but that they most likely didn't know about us prior to or at the beginning of the project. We try to get the UN Resident Representative enthusiastic about the concept of DSCS, so that whenever a new project idea comes in from the host government or from a consulting mission, they will ask us to participate.

• *Are you limited to only UNDP projects? If some other agency, such as AID or a nongovernmental organization (NGO), is about to do a project, can you participate?* We can work only with host governmental approval, but we do work with NGO's and other technical assistance agencies. In Bangkok, the regional DSCS Center has developed projects that have UN funding. It is also involved with World Bank projects and projects that are closely related to AID. The Bangkok Center is very flexible but it still has to clear joint projects through the bureaucratic procedure.

• *What DSCS service would you say is requested the most? And for what purpose?* Until about two years ago, we got a lot of requests for audio-visual production and training. Now most of the Bangkok activities are in communication planning and in systems design. Based on my own experience in Turkey, most of our requests were for training, training methods, and some audio-visual production. We did very little actual production ourselves. When we did do production, we always worked with the people that had requested it so that they were able to do it themselves the next time. We did a little bit of equipment advising, but not much.

• *Who received the training?* Government people.

• *At the administrative level?* Yes. And also in the field projects. I'd say it was about 50-50.

• *How much interaction did you have with the field people, the extension agents?* I would say 40% of my time was with field people in Turkey. The more time you can spend at the field level, the more good it will do. In Thailand it was a much higher percentage. I traveled in the interior of Thailand and other countries 60% of the time.

• *How much are the villagers involved in communication planning? Or is your work, like a lot of planning, still done from the top down?* In my official capacity there was hardly any contact at all. In Turkey, the UN sponsored only two projects whose target audiences were the general public! Unofficially, I met many rural people because I spent almost every other weekend camping in rural areas.

• *Is it generally true that in DSCS you don't have much interaction with the target audience? In other words, you talk about them but rarely deal with them.* No. That was just unique to Turkey because there the UN is engaged in rather high technology oriented kinds of activities. In most countries, the UN works in rural development projects. They have a research unit in Bangkok whose primary function is to analyze the human elements of a particular project. They are trying to go to their audience and get some data which can be used in a project when it begins. They did some pretty good studies before the projects were really launched.

• *Are you competing with or duplicating the work of communication institutions, such as the Ministry of Information, that already serve as delivery systems of development information?* A few years ago, the answer would have been that we were duplicating services in a way. But if DSCS continues to de-emphasize production and emphasize planning, then the answer is no. If we can help people identify the communication needs of a new or existing project that is supposed to serve the public or part of the public, orchestrate the communication services that are available already in the country (and/or train people to provide the services themselves as needed), and if we can get people together so that their needs are being met; then we are doing our job and not duplicating services. It doesn't take a lot of people to do this, but it needs doing.

• *Can communication planners act as the "integrators" of development projects?* Communication planners can and should form a focal point for the development team effort. In my work so far, I've found that this has been the case. In the UN system there isn't really another type of activity that works across sectors in a programmatic sense. There are administrative people, of course. These program officers may be responsible for two or three different sectors, but essentially they are only concerned with making sure that project documents meet all the necessary requirements. When I worked with them and learned about their projects, I saw that many people involved in different projects had similar problems. On several occasions I would go back to the program officer and suggest that people from the four or five projects I had just visited get together to discuss their resources and problems. In a country, you can start to set up some kind of system that really has a capability to be in touch with many different activities, and thus can locate resources and bring people with similar problems together.

• *Paul Boyd has also said that what is needed in development is a new kind of social scientist — "One who can get his feet dirty" and understand the dynamics of interpersonal situations. Do you agree with this?* I think that those types of people are there already. Going in, talking to the people and taking a cross-section of the community is a very traditional approach. Some of their training is inappropriate, but they are given reasonable tools. What's needed is more of an effort to get people out in the bush. I don't think that it takes any new type of person to do that. It just takes initiative and motivation. Also, it is not entirely their fault. In most governments one is not rewarded for travel. Traveling in the interior is a bureaucratic hassle and can be expensive because the government per diem usually doesn't cover all expenses. But still, a lot of people are just afraid to go out. ■

For information about ongoing DSCS activities in South and East Asia (India East), write to DSCS, P.O. Box 2-147, Bangkok, Thailand. For information about activities in West Asia, write to DSCS, P.O. Box 1555, Tehran Iran. Information about other DSCS programs can be obtained from United Nations Development Program, Department of Information, 1 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017. The Food and Agriculture Organization, (FAO) has also been involved in DSC programs. Write to the FAO, Division of Information, Via Delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy, for information.

Planning for People

We are pleased to feature an interview with Spurgeon (Sam) Milton Keeney, Sr. whose many years of experience with the UNICEF regional headquarters in Bangkok, Thailand and the Population Council have given him a broad perspective from which to view family planning and integrated rural development programs. In addition to his 26 years of experience in Asia, Sam Keeney has spent many years in international relief and disaster work. He participated in the first U.S. government international relief effort (the Hoover Mission of 1920-1924) and later served as head of the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Rome, Italy. In this interview with Randall H. Casey, he draws on nearly 60 years of experience in dealing with the complexities of organizational behavior and problem solving techniques as he discusses how to help people receive the service governments promise but have difficulty delivering.

• *How effective have integrated family planning activities been?* It depends on what you mean by integrated. If you mean integrated into the public health services as a sub-heading under mother and child health, I don't think they have been effective in reducing the birth-rate fast. As a matter of fact, a good MCH program will raise the rate of population growth in its first years because of the drop in infant mortality that it helps to bring about. When integrating with ministries other than health, there is more chance of getting something done. Actually very few of them are doing it. A good population education approach can theoretically produce a whole new generation of young people who understand concepts of population growth in the course of ten years. You won't have to give them much training and they will practice family planning more or less automatically; but only a few countries have started to do this and only recently. The Philippines, for example, is working hard on population education.

• *Why do you think there has been a great deal of slowness in getting other ministries involved in family planning efforts?* Well, I think nobody has pushed it hard enough. In education, the countries are very careful about not letting foreigners interfere with their curricula. When an idea comes openly from abroad, it certainly will be rejected as propaganda. Another problem is that it requires time to find a place for new concepts in an already crowded curriculum. You have to fight for every new idea, but if you get population concepts included with the other subjects you will have success. It takes at least five years to get population education into the cycle and it takes additional money which few countries offer the Ministry of Education.

In agriculture, for example, the extension staff will have many local contacts. When agriculture and health aides work together you will have more success. But usually these people have all been trained to do one thing, and that one thing is certainly not family planning. If you add this task to their work, they will complain and tell you that they already have too much to do. When they have to do more work, they'll want more pay; and nobody is going to give one group a pay raise unless the whole grade in the government receives one, too.

• *What do you think are some of the obstacles that various governmental bureaucracies face when attempting integrated programs?* Bureaucratic habit, money, and the fear of novelty. In education, the backlash of fanatic groups always has to be kept in mind. Budgets are made in particular ways and it's hard to get those ways altered very often. A department which has funds allocated for a specific purpose is slow to give up the funds to another office. One department may ask the cooperation of all other departments, but it is very slow to cut the financial pie and hand out a piece to others when asked. The government must recognize that if you are going to integrate you got to put up the money for it. It's not a very expensive business, but it's new, it hasn't been done, and the budgeters are hesitant. Very often the people who are responsible for making the budget don't ask for enough money. I've seen this year after year. They follow some order that no budget should be increased by more than 10% or whatever. But if you start out with nothing and increase it by 10% you don't have a very big increase. And that's what has happened in many of the family planning programs. We've got to break through that, and it can be done, if your leaders are for it.

People are always looking for a formula, a universal truth, but I doubt that there are many universal formulas in this matter. The situation varies from country to country and with time. We need to be pretty pragmatic and say we'll work where the people want it and where the leaders don't object to it.

• *How important are the national leaders?* The thing that makes a program get adequate funding is for the Head of State to tell the appropriate officials that this is an important program which must be supported. When this happens, budget adjustments are made and the necessary orders to make a success of it are issued to all departments. That's why the Indonesian program has done so well. President Suharto has done exactly that.

• *Does the national leadership in most Asian countries realize the problem and have they committed the government to make a greater effort in family planning?* It is hard to generalize, but I think the answer is usually yes. Planning ministries are now accepting the idea that a lower rate of population growth is much better for their future. You have to get this idea firmly planted in the planning ministry.

• *What have family planning people learned from their experiences that tend to make their programs more effective?* Well, one of the first things that we've learned is that if a country wants to start a program it can get help from abroad. That was not known 10 years ago. The United States has been putting money into this field for less than 10 years. The Swedes were the only ones for many years. There's a new confidence that if a country wants to do something, it can build a sensible plan and have good hopes of being supported. This factor gives a program much more stability and much more security.

We had better learn to go out and talk to the people themselves. The biggest surprise is how much common sense illiterate village people have. Their answers make as much sense as some of those which come out of universities. This is because they're down to earth, and they face the dirty facts of life. They have very little theory in what they say, but they do have a great deal of experience. For that reason, I think that fewer model building studies, less esoteric research and fewer surveys need to be done, because researchers are likely to get what they want to hear and what is popular at the time. I would like to see more case studies and I think that the planners ought to get out and actually get acquainted with the people who are going to accept or not accept their programs. There has been much too little of that. Hardly any leader really knows what the rural people are thinking, even leaders who were born in the village. Because of their training and work, their values have shifted and they have idealized their life back in the village.

People are always looking for a formula, a universal truth, but I doubt that there are many universal formulas in this matter. The situation varies from country to country and with time. We need to be pretty pragmatic and say we'll work where the people want it and where the leaders don't object to it.

• *Would the use of folk media with radio be what you have in mind?* Yes, but get the programs on at the right time of day. Most city programmers assume that any time during the day is all right for country women who work from dawn to dark. During the harvest season, or planting season, where do you find the women?

Out in the fields! It would be the scandal of the village if they stayed home just to listen to a radio show.

• *How do you really find out how well programs do? Are there certain techniques that you have developed over the years that let you know what is good and what isn't?* It depends on what your program is. There are polls which are quite refined for evaluating publicity campaigns. My main criticism of those surveys is that surveys assume that if people can identify two to eight methods of family planning, they have made terrific progress. I don't think there's much relationship between being able to name a method and using it. It's one step and it's not a big one.

What we need to know is what women actually do. My own methods are very simple. If I wanted to find out something, I would ask the local headman to bring together half a dozen women of the types that I was interested in interviewing and ask if they could give me some advice about what was really happening in the village. You can get an earful that way. The idea that Asian women are silent, shy and inarticulate soon vanishes when you get women ready to tell you the real dope on the village. To do that you need to have with you somebody who has the trust of the village, or you need to go back to that village for the umpteenth time or something like that. There has to be trust there.

• *Are people in rural areas aware of the problems of over-population?* My experience in East Asia has been that this is something we do not need to worry about. The thing for us to worry about is getting them some service. City people are always worrying about the backwardness of rural people, but when you go out and talk to the villagers they say: "We know we have too many children, but we have not known what to do about it, and we never had anybody to tell us. It must not be against our religion, it must not stop us from working and it must not cost much, because we don't have any money, but if you can get us the help, we will gladly take it."

• *What kind of false assumptions do you think urban people make about rural people?* Make a list of human frailities and you have the answer. But, in general, the main one is that they are more backward than city people in their attitudes and that they tend to be somewhat more conservative. The biggest assumption and one not only made by city people about country people but also about their own culture, is that if a culture has taken a certain position, for a mere 5,000 years, they cannot change it within 5 or even 10 years. For example, when I first discussed family planning in Taiwan, the Chinese leaders, who were mostly old men and Confucian in their philosophy, said there was no possible hope of getting people who have the Confucian philosophy to give up their notion of "the more sons the better." Everybody I talked with said that; but a study that was done about that time showed that a 5,000-year notion can change. People were quite ready to adjust to the times. Thirteen years later, about 60% of all the women are now practicing family planning.

• *What can you say about family planning programs that have had success using media?* Well, media in Asia essentially means radio and I don't think they have used the media very effectively. It reaches many people who haven't been reached before, but for the most part the programs are not the right type. Spot announcements are too short and are broadcast at odd hours. If they are longer and repeated enough and at suitable hours, they will succeed in planting the message in peoples' minds. The older a family planning program is, the less of a need there is for spot announcements.

I think radio plays with family planning ideas have been quite effective. Several approaches have been done well. Family planning ideas can be incorporated into well known plays; a family planning play that is similar to a popular play can be done; or a play can be scheduled to run next to the popular programs. To help insure the success of these plays, programmers should get well-known actors and actresses to perform and should make use of family planning themes with local forms of comedy.

• *Do you feel that you really get a good idea of the situation the first few times you go into a village?* Well, if you have with you a person who is well-known in the area, you get a good feel for what is really happening. I always try to get a local leader who has good field experience and who knows the dialect of the place because the results will be better and more accurate. The use of the local dialect gets the conversation to start faster and more freely. People are initially embarrassed to speak but if they can answer my first half dozen questions with a show of hands, they will begin to warm up and speak. In a short time they start giving you details. In this way you can learn a lot about the real situation in villages.

• *How can countries like the United States play a constructive role in Asia?* By voting the money, and seeing to it that the money is used for its intended purpose. That means we should divert less to studies in this country because the problem is not primarily in this country. We are faced with overpopulated poor countries of the world. We ought to face it, and help do something about it, when they want help. And there are plenty of them that do.

• *Are you optimistic that this will happen?* Well, the tendency has been quite good. I think the attitudes of Congress have been suprisingly good on this matter. After they got the idea, I think that the money has been generally quite well spent. The thing that I would watch, I would not allow large segments of this money to be pushed off into other programs. Most money voted for population should be applied to reducing the birth rate as fast as possible. To put the money into buildings is often a misuse of money. In family planning you need almost no buildings. The Koreans solved one of their problems by doing their training in a nightclub that was free during the day. They didn't have any night classes, that's all. So a little ingenuity means that you can do a lot for a little.

• *What important lessons have you learned from your experience in Asia?* I think the main lesson is that you start with the assumption that local people know best. They have a lot of experience. You have to find the best local people and see how they would solve the problem. Some of their solutions are very cheap and very ingenious and can make a little money go a long way. Build from there.

I'll never forget the work I did in UNICEF on yaws. We started out with a big Western type model that involved test runs, elaborate data gathering, computerization, and all the rest. But the Indonesians turned the whole plan down, and said they wanted to cure just the disease. They wanted to get a special type of penicillin to all the people who had yaws. Fortunately, they held their position long enough that we finally accepted it. As a result, they eliminated 10 million cases of yaws — the biggest job of its kind that had ever been done, and done almost entirely without foreign advisory help. They used methods that were entirely suitable for their way of life.

Another point that I would include is that these new countries are changing very fast. In the U.S. we have the notion that we're the only ones that are changing fast, but they are changing relatively faster. It is quite astonishing to see how ideas that were held to be fundamental twenty years ago have gone by the board. This is largely because of the Western influence. These people have seen another way of life and they're yelling for it. Their expectations are on the optimistic side and I would say that that is a hopeful sign.

This country should not expect reiterated gratitude from countries for what we have done to help. We should expect some criticism and be able to welcome honest opinion. We should cheer such signs of independence, but they must learn that that involves some corollaries; that is, they do not want to be beholden to anybody but at the same time they ask for a lot of money without strings. And that is where the crunch is right now. ■

Battery Projector for Villages

Ever since the plastic "crusader" slide and filmstrip projector disappeared from the market several years ago, development communicators have been hard-pressed to find an inexpensive machine for projecting visuals in unelectrified rural areas. The International Audio-Visual Resource Service lists a projector of Yugoslavian manufacture, which can be modified for battery operation and is said to perform better than the "Crusader." The total cost for both projector and modification is approximately US$20. For further information, contact Rene Morrell, Director, International Audio-Visual Resource Service, 18-20 Lower Regent St., London SWI 4PW, England. ■

MSU Nonformal Education Conference

Over 150 researchers and practitioners from 20 nations gathered in late September at the Michigan State University conference on *Nonformal Education and the Rural Poor*. Representing 27 national and international organizations and 30 colleges and universities, the participants came from such diverse fields as agriculture, nutrition, family planning, community development and education. Presentations were given on three integrated rural development programs (Mexico's Plan Puebla, the Comilla Project of Bangladesh, and Ethiopia's CADU Project) and on NFE efforts in individual development sectors. A report on the conference proceedings can be obtained from Joan Claffey, NFE Information Center, Institute for International Studies in Education, College of Education, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 38824. ■

Word from Sotik: Reaction to Zaa Na Uwatunze

The following comments on the radio show Zaa Na Uwatunze *(See* ICIT Report, *No. 15, July 1976) are taken from a letter written by Alexander A. Ng'eno of Sotik, Kenya. Mr. Ng'eno's letter, sent originally to the UNICEF Office in Nairobi, Kenya, came to us courtesy of Bruce Lundeen, a good friend and colleague of Mr. Ng'eno.*

I have been a weekly listener of *Zaa Na Uwatunze* as it is always on Sundays at 4:30 P.M. Also, my family and friends, old and young, have been listening with me. What I had found was, the program is educative and fun as far as entertainment is concerned. For a long time, when I have been listening to this program, I have been asking myself, how do people understand this program, do they really find that the program is educative on health, child-care and even family planning or do they just listen to it for fun?

I had discussed with my friends before about how they could collect money and dig *Choo* (latrines) for each member of the group. But during our disicussion, one friend of mine refused completely about our plan of *Choo* digging. He argued and said there were many bushes around his house so he could hide in those bushes and help himself.

It was an opportunity when Bruce (Lundeen) brought me your tapes on *Zaa Na Uwatunze* programs. Your tapes enabled me to test how people understand these programs. When I received your tapes, there were three friends of mine and among them was that friend who had argued about our plan on *Choo* digging. After playing the tape on *Choo* digging, I asked questions as to what they had learned from the program. The first person said: "O.K., it is very nice and funny because Kiroboto is talking very amusingly and shouting at others so much." Then I asked the second person how he listened, and he said: "Oh yes! The program is funny but also it is educative because it teaches us the importance of digging *Choo*." The third person also said the program was educational.

I then played the second program, which was on Cholera prevention. I asked the same as I had done in the first program, but this time everybody was ready to answer. They showed me that they now understand what was in those programs or, I should say, they understood the content. After that, we all said: "Oh! beside this program being funny, it is also educational".

Because I know that people cannot listen to a forty minute tape, I have begun to index the tapes by program. By using the digit counter, I can locate any particular program that is wanted. When people come, I will just ask them which program they would like to listen to whether *Choo* digging, child-care, or family planning.

If the tapes were made available to rural communities, they could be used for entertainment. They could be integrated into government extension work. If the tape recorders were made available, for example, they could be used by nutritionists, home economists, community development agents and family planning people, and even women's groups if a discussion leader could help the women understand the educational information.

From my personal learning experience, Voice of Kenya Cooperative Education programs like *Ushirika na Mshiriki* and *Zaa Na Uwatunze* are very good. There would be a noticeable increase in education if the taped programs were made available on cassettes because of timing, replaying, and structuring. ■

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